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613 he cannot escape the fact that in his wife's village he is only
593 a 'billy goat' and that his 'true home' is in his matrilineal
606 village. The pull of the matrilineal village on him, therefore,
591 is always very strong and he is constantly trying to return there.
621 His wife's responsible relatives are constantly trying to avoid this because they know that in time they are likely to lose the children who will probably settle in their father's village if they grow up there. In general, therefore, a husband must have a very good reason before he can get his wife's kinsmen's permission to take her and her children to his village. His wife's relatives do not easily yield. But a headman must live in his own village so that nearly all headmen bring at least one of their wives into their villages. Other men sometimes succeed in doing so especially if their wives are past child-bearing, but it is typically the headman's wife who lives virilocally.

621 The husband's interest in returning to his matrilineal village
591 is heightened by the fact that a man in his wife's village is looked
554 upon as the typical man without prestige: a stranger, whose duty is largely procreative. The theme song at the installation ceremony where the husband was compared with a billy goat, and the common epithet 'chicken rooster' for a husband, reflect the attitude of the Yao towards him. In the song I quoted, the husband was said to be unable to climb high in his village of marriage, however rich he may become.[1] He is, nevertheless, an essential member of the village and the Yao say that it can succeed neither economically nor physically without his aid.

A husband becomes more important when he stays in a village for a long time. He becomes known intimately to the villagers and is conversant with their affairs. He is, therefore, able to advise on many private intra-lineage and intra-village affairs and may even become a marriage surety if there is no more suitable person available. Also in time the husband's position in the village changes. As his children grow up and become active members in the matrilineage, his position of husband becomes supplanted by his position of father, which, in a matrilineal society like that of the Yao, is significant in the same way as that of the mother's brother is in patrilineal societies.

593 The Yao recognize the close bond between father and child.
842 This bond is conceived to be both social and physical and is

[1] See Chap. V, p. 119.

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rationalized in the Yao theory of conception.[1] They believe that after intercourse the semen clots and embeds itself in the womb. From this the child develops and is nurtured by the mother until it is due to be born. Subsequent acts of intercourse add semen to the body of the child and make it fat. Semen from other men may be used, too, to feed the child in its intra-uterine life, but its body and blood are derived from the semen which first clotted. In Yao opinion there can be one father only.

Not all acts of intercourse lead to impregnation because sometimes, for various reasons, especially in immature women, the semen fails to clot. There is therefore, to the Yao way of thinking, some difficulty in determining the 'father' of a child. This difficulty is met by the belief that the intra-uterine child in some way knows about the doings of its parents and in particular knows who its father is. It therefore refuses to be born unless its father is recognized.[2] Hence if a child is born without undue puerperal complications it is assumed to be the offspring of the man who is currently living with its mother. If labour is prolonged, however, the relatives call for confessions (*kupaca*) from both husband and wife. The husband's confessions are usually formal and simple. The wife's confessions on the other hand are detailed and complete. She confesses the name of an adulterer, and her midwives, including the husband's sisters as his witnesses, wait for the next birth-spasm. If the child is not born at this spasm she is told to confess again. Only after she has confessed to a lover whom the Yao assume to be the genitor will the child eventually be born. After this the aggrieved husband summons the adulterer to court and he is made to accept the fatherhood of the child.

The act of formally accepting the paternity of a child, which is also done when a woman has a child out of wedlock, confers rights of two types on the child. The first set of rights is directly economic and physical. The father is expected to give the mother salt, money for relish, and cloth to help her rear the child. But this side of a father's duties to his child ceases as soon as another man marries the woman. The new husband than takes over the

[1] I have dealt with this more fully in *Marriage among the Machinga Yao.*

[2] It also refuses to be born for other reasons, but the first considered is always the adultery of its parents. See p. 138.

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

585 drum of her married life begins. The man and woman live together peaceably enough as a rule, each attending to his own sphere of work. The man builds the house, the woman
462 muds the floors; she sweeps and cooks, she is the hewer of wood and drawer of water. The man hunts, fishes, makes mats, baskets, the grain store, game traps, and bark-cloth; he looks after the tobacco, and makes the snuff, while his wife brews the beer. He it is who fashions the gourd vessels and carves the spoons, while the woman is the potter (Pl. III, 4) and pipe-maker. Together they hoe and together they harvest, but to the woman falls the monotonous drudgery of pounding and sifting the corn for flour.

842 The Yao have a custom like that of the Anyanja. A sister brings to the house of the newly wedded pair a log of green wood from a *mbanga* tree which is very hard; the log
[522] may be two feet in diameter and four feet long. Should the bride not become pregnant before it is burned away, the husband is laughed at and they may both be teased by having
[558] many logs brought to the house. A man who has no children is much despised and there is a saying, "He must have eaten some ground-nuts," punning on the word for a thick-skinned variety of ground-nut, *chimbuwila*, a word which also means sterility. An impotent
[837] man may, with the consent of his wife, introduce some male friend into the house, any children born in consequence being claimed as the husband's. He usually chooses some friend from a distance to obviate any attachment springing up between him and the wife. Two married couples may, all consenting, exchange consorts for the night, but they never live together like this for long periods.

582 There is one well-defined marriage taboo; a man may not marry a woman of his own clan. In the old days, he was also restricted to his own tribe, except in the case of slave
[611] wives and wives by capture. Since the clan is inherited from the mother,[1] a man may not marry the daughters of his maternal aunts, but he may marry his other female cousins.
[587] He may not marry two sisters nor a deceased wife's sister; neither do two brothers marry two sisters.

595 The number of wives is limited only by the husband's ability to provide for them. In addition to free wives, a man might formerly have a number of slave wives. The head wife is called *kuuyeto*, the other wives, *mangumba*. The word given by Macdonald, *akuuyeto*,[2] meaning the junior wives, is a Chinyanja word and, I think, wrongly applied.

582 It has been said that a man always marries into the village of his wife. For this reason,
[942] female children are always prized as it means an increase in the number of able-bodied men added to the village. In rare cases, the wife might be taken to the husband's village,
[583] as is the Anyanja practice.[3] This, of course, is true in the case of chiefs and headmen. Here, we may also note that no payment is made for the wife and no dowry is received with her.

584 To revert to betrothal, occasionally the sponsors will not agree to the marriage and a
843 runaway match takes place, but in the end, the marriage is usually regularised by the sponsors coming to an agreement. If, however, the woman has in the meantime become

[1] Vide infra, p. 292. [2] Op. cit., p. 134. [3] Stannus, op. cit., p. 309.

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843 842 *Pregnancy and childbirth.* An event of the first importance in the Yao world is the first conception or rather the "quickening" with the first child, *Litiwo*; this is described below, together with the other ceremonies of the *Unyago*.[1] After the ceremony of *Litiwo*, the period of waiting until the birth of the child passes without further event. A point of medical interest is that native women suffer in many cases from "morning sickness" during pregnancy. That they may have perverted appetites is also recognised, grain husks and crabs being among the things most commonly desired. As the Anyanja,[2] the Yao believe that the child develops from the semen of the male, although the growth of the child is in some way connected with the mother.

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844 When labor commences, the woman retires to the bush a few hundred yards away from her house, attended by some friend, seldom a midwife, and never by her own people, though the mother and the mother-in-law will probably be near the spot. If labor is not completed by evening, they return to the house and the birth may take place actually within its walls. The attitude assumed in labor is the same as that adopted by the Anyanja,[3] the patient semi-reclining in the arms of another woman who sits behind, grasping her belly. The vulva is smeared with a decoction made from the bark of the *mpoza* tree as a lubricant, but no other help is given. *Kumkuli* is the name given to the place of confinement; *m'kuli* means the house where the woman remains for a period after the confinement. The Yao recognise the protruding bag of amniotic fluid and call it the "oil-gourd". *"Chisasi chikusichel* (The oil-gourd, has it broken?)." They wait until the placenta is delivered before dividing the cord. This is done with the sharp edge of the outer covering of a maize stalk or sugar cane; a knife is never used. The section is made near the placenta or half-way between it and the child, after tying the proximal end with a bark string.

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The woman who receives the child at birth is the *ambusanga*, friend or godmother. If the infant is born in the bush, she carries it back to the house whither they go as soon as labor is completed. The mother herself, unless she is very ill, goes out shortly afterwards and buries the placenta in the ash-heap, using a stick to dig the hole, never a hoe.

845 After the birth, the mother and child must remain in the house until the umbilical cord separates, during which time the husband does not enter, though he may come to the door to look in at the child.

852 553 302 The day on which exit from the house is made, the floor is entirely replastered with mud. The baby's head is shaved and a cross is made upon it with *ngoma*, a kind of red pigment. The husband may then receive the child and in the case of a first-born, it is he who gives it its name; other children may be named by the *ambusanga*, the mother, or the aunt.

When the mother leaves the house to appear in public, the *nakunga* who put her *litiwo* on,[4] removes it.

So long as the infant remains in the house, care must be taken as to persons allowed to handle it. A woman who has recently had a menstrual period or coitus with her husband,

[1] Vide infra, p. 274. [2] Stannus, op. cit., p. 310. [3] Ibid. [4] Vide infra, p. 274.

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881 The following morning at dawn, each guardian washes her ward, anoints her from head to foot with oil and puts on her body new calico, ropes of beads being worn round the neck, and on the head a little bark-cloth cap fringed with beads called *chiwala*. At a given signal, each guardian picks up her ward on her shoulders and pretends to run away with her to her own village. This is the signal for the fathers of the girls to run up and redeem their children by making presents to the guardians. Each *wali* is given her new name by her guardian, often the guardian's own or that of the girl's grandmother. The girls are then set down again, a procession is formed and all return to the village, with great rejoicing, as in the case of the boys. The girls then disperse and go back to live with their mothers or grandmothers. The *wali* may be made to give an exhibition of their dancing; they dance *chiwaba*.

On the occasion of the first visit to *Chiputu*, as a kind of accessory, there is a ceremony for young married men which forms, as mentioned elsewhere, the second part of their initiation ceremonies or *Unyago*.

It is known as *Kulukwi* and is a kind of test of manhood. It was formerly considered as important as *Lupanda*, but now, I think, the last *Kulukwi* has been performed; for the young men of the present day, largely emancipated from chief-rule and freed from the ties of tribal custom, care less and less for their old method of up-bringing.

881 When *Chiputu* is about to take place, any young newly married men whose wives have
●842 not become pregnant are pressed to go to their second ceremony. The wife may ask some woman friend to act as his guardian or some woman may volunteer for the service. Often the young fellow will make pretence of not wanting to go; he may be chased and caught, and with his hands tied behind his back, wearing bark-cloth, he is conducted to the ceremony by other men.

Each young man is attended by a woman guardian and during the first visit to *Chiputu*, they sleep in two rows of grass sheds facing each other, the women in one line, the young men in the other line, each facing his woman guardian, with fires in the free-way between the two rows of huts. Or they may sleep in one big grass shed, each woman-guardian next to the young man she attends, and so in pairs all down both sides of the grass shed, the fires being made in the middle. The young men have to pay for a share in the food and beer made for *Chiputu*, but each guardian cooks for her man.

On the afternoon of *lyawa lya kuzyanga*, the young men are taken off to a place in the bush perhaps a quarter to one mile away from *Chiputu*, *ku-lukwi* " to *lukwi* " as is said.

Here they are formed into a semi-circle of from half a dozen to ten or twenty of them, each with his guardian and a crowd of the grown-up population from the village in attendance. Good advice is given them as to their behavior, especially in regard to their wives and mothers-in-law. Anyone who has any particularly bad trait is sure to hear of it now, the mother or father of the young man having arranged that it shall be brought up. The

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woman guardian shows to her man red and white beads in her hand and tells him that white indicates health while red means sickness, thereby pointing out to him their deep-rooted beliefs in the diseases associated with intercourse or association with women during menstruation. 881 842

Then follows a test of manhood. The women guardians put little pieces of stick (*lukwi* = sticks or firewood) on their heads and sing: [533 539]

"*Ngompe nikwongu lukwi lwa msuku'chamuno lisi*"
"I must give my wife (when sick) firewood of the *msuku* although it gives lots of ashes!"

What is meant is that when his wife is ill, the husband should fetch the firewood even though he does not know which woods give least ash; the *msuku* tree gives many ashes. The little piece of wood a few inches long with a notch in the middle is then handed to the young man by his guardian. He places it on the ground in front of him, kneels down, and with a small axe he attempts to divide the stick at the notch. If he is successful, he is greeted with cheers, clapping, and much rejoicing. By proving his power to hit straight, he has also established his manhood; it is prophesied that he will soon have children. Should he miss through nervousness, shouts of derision welcome him and his guardian shows her disgust with his performance. If he is a young fellow well-liked in his village, he may be allowed to make a second attempt. After this ceremony, each couple bathes each other in their shelters by pouring water over the head and body without removing the clothes, thus making brotherhood. Forever after the man must treat this woman with great respect, must not address her for some time, and then only after making her a small present.

The woman guardian picks up the two pieces of the broken *lukwi* and on the morning before they all leave *Chiputu*, the mother or sister of the young man gives her a string of red or white beads saying, "These are to bind up the bundle of wood." The man's guardian binds up the pieces of wood with the beads and gives it to her man. When they have returned to the village, they go to the young man's wife and he presents them to her. The guardian, however, steps in and slips off the beads which she keeps, while the wife, pleased at her husband's success, drops the two pieces of wood into the fire.

During the weeks that the girl *unali* remain under instruction in the village, those young men who have been *ku-lukwi* sleep in one big enclosure away from their wives and do not cohabit until after the second return from *Chiputu* is made.

Another *ku-lukwi* test sometimes, I believe, introduced into Yao ceremonies but really one practiced by the Mpotola people and not proper to the Yao, is as follows: [177]

The guardian lies on the ground, wearing a small loin-cloth, and holding beads in her clenched hands, red in one, white in the other. Her man standing at her feet, bends over her and projects saliva on to her abdomen through a rolled up leaf held between his lips, at the same time choosing one of her hands. If he chooses the hand containing the white beads, he is hailed with delight as a man indeed, but should he choose the hand containing

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the red beads, he is jeered at and laughed to scorn. In this case, the white beads are held to indicate semen, the red beads menstrual blood.

Litiwo: This ceremony is enacted at the time when a young married woman quickens with her first child. *Litiwo* (*ku-tiwa*, to plait) refers to the plaited cord put round the woman's neck. The woman and her husband both are present, and in addition, only women, possibly with their babies.

For the man, *Litiwo* is looked upon as the third or completing ceremony of his *Unyago*. He must have been to *Lupanda* and *Chiputu*, otherwise he cannot be admitted to *Litiwo*. If, however, the husband is not eligible, some other man who has completed his *Unyago*, is married, and has children, may act as proxy to a woman at *Litiwo*.

In every district there is generally some woman who arranges and conducts the ceremony. She is called *nakanga;* naturally, no European has been present at *Litiwo* but my information was gained from Kuliati, a woman who for years acted as *nakanga* in the villages round Malemya's kraal, and Chilandana, her old mother who had acted in the same capacity before her and who had come from the old Machinga country where her mother in turn had been a well-known *nakanga*.

[115]

When a woman quickens with child for the first time, her women-folk visit the local *nakanga*, saying, "We are going to shave so and so (naming the woman) and to get bananas. Tomorrow, we start pounding flour. In three days we shall be ready, and you will come over to arrange things." At the appointed time, the *nakanga* having partaken of food early because she will not eat for the rest of the day, goes out of the village to some spot a half-mile away in the bush and there sees that all preparations are made and sufficient food collected. The food is supplied by the mothers of the man and woman, and consists essentially of beans (*njama* and *nyunde*), porridge, sugar-cane, and bananas, but no beer.

All being ready, a procession in single file leaves the village for the appointed place, the woman's sponsor leading, the woman followed by the husband and his sponsor (a woman), and the married women assembled from nearby villages. The sponsor is known as *mkamusi* or *alombwe*. Neither *mkamusi* nor *nakanga* may have sexual relations with their husbands till after the birth of the child. The woman wears bark-cloth stained black, but may wear blue cloth on returning to the village, while her husband is decked out in his finest cloths and ornaments. They have partaken of food early in the day as they fast until the next day.

Arrived at the place, the man and woman take up their positions on mats separated from each other by some twenty or thirty paces, each with his *mkamusi*. The man's *mkamusi* sits on the same mat with him and never leaves him throughout the ceremony. The woman preserves a dignified quiet but the man is expected to make the most of himself sitting with hands on hips, and displaying his fine clothes worn after the fashion of a chief.

While all the assembled crowd of women sit round in a semi-circle, the *nakanga* commences the proceedings, singing a number of songs to the woman and the man in turn,

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539 20. *Wawilile galasaya mkasi!*
He was "let in" badly over the fish-sticks!

A man had put a lot of fish on spits to roast round the fire. While he went to get some more firewood, a thief came and took all the fish. A stranger then approached and was examining one of the sticks, saying, "There must have been a very nice fat fish on this stick," when the owner returned and immediately accused the innocent stranger of stealing his fish. A native coming across a corpse will run away, using the above expression; for if he reports the matter, he may be the first to be accused.

21. *Sungula wa walechele (mwanache) mu uwile!*
The impotent man had born to him a child in a joke!

● [842 558] A native man who is impotent is very much looked down on and he is the laughing stock of the village. He is constantly made fun of by the women. The story goes that such a man when being chaffed, said, "All right, let me have the prettiest girl in the village," and they said, "All right, old *sungula*, you can do her no harm." But it came to pass that she became pregnant and the women were disgraced. The meaning of the expression is: what is done as a joke may become a reality.

22. *Mwa winji ng'omba sya nyama unandi!*
Days many, hairs of an animal few!

There are more days than there are hairs in an animal's coat! If A has done a good turn to B, and B behaves badly to A, A will remonstrate, using the above expression, meaning, "You may want my help again some day, but I shall then refuse and you will suffer."

23. *Chilambe changalinga makono!*
The (country) earth cannot (be) measured in cubits!

Meaning, "You never know when you may want return for your good deeds.

24. *Kusowela kusalanya, kunuka kulijimiya!* or *kuponya po moto!*
To be generous (is) to save up, to be stingy (is) to deny oneself! or to throw in the fire!

Kindness returns to the doer.

25. *Uwili ukolo, ujiku wangalikunda kunyuma!*
Two-ness (is) good, oneness he cannot rub the back!

Ku-kunda = to rub the back of another person while bathing, a thing a native appreciates very much. An expression often used with the meaning, "There is safety in numbers," (*winji ikolo!*)

26. *Kulagaga ukusiulilawilila!*
Being in a state of poverty, one must not hang (oneself)!

Ku-laga = to be poor, to be in trouble. Do not give up hope.

27. *Kuachilaga kajangalila kwiwoga!*
Having become rich one must jump for joy in the dark corner of the house.

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IT SHOULD
162 be noted that only 27—11 per cent. of the whole sample of 246 women—had never
589 married and that 23, 80 per cent., of these (or 10 per cent. of the total) were under the age of 20 and therefore stood a good chance of yet marrying. Furthermore, 2 of the 4 women over 20 who had not married were known definitely to be incapable of marrying (one is insane and the other has violent epileptic fits).

There were 53 women who were divorcees or widows (21·5 per cent.), but it should be noted that 27 (or 11 per cent. of the 246 women) were over the age of 45 and therefore were past, or nearly past, the child-bearing period. Those in the younger age-groups stood good chances of remarrying. Table IV shows that though
[586] the divorce rate is high[1] remarriage is common. By the time a woman's child-
[587] bearing period has ended she has been married on the average 1·7 times. Few marriages are contracted after child-bearing ceases.

TABLE IV. *Marriages and Dissolutions of Marriage experienced by all Women over the Age of 13*

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Present age	*No. of women*	*No. of marriages contracted*	*No. of divorces experienced*	*No. widowed*	*No. still married*	*No. of marriages per woman*	*No. of divorces per woman*	*No. of marriages per woman ended by death of husband*	*No. of marriages per woman still existing*
13–20	43	22	1	..	21	0·49	0·02	0·00	0·46
20–30	79	104	36	4	64	1·32	0·43	0·05	0·81
30–45	70	121	30	18	53	1·73	0·71	0·23	0·79
Over 45	52	88	29	34	25	1·70	0·57	0·65	0·48
Total	246	335	116	54	163	1·36	0·47	0·22	0·67

842 These statistics, showing the early age of marriage, the early commencement of child-bearing, the high incidence of marriage among women, and the high rate of remarriage during the child-bearing period, all point to the high valuation of
[187] reproduction reflected in Yao culture. This is consistent with their social structure,
[61] where the major corporate groups are kinship groups and reproduction is the principal method of recruitment to the group. Furthermore, because the standard of living is almost at subsistence level, children do not entail the economic losses
[593] they do in Western society. On the other hand, they are expected to support their
[888] aged parents when they themselves are economically independent. In other words, there are few factors militating against reproduction and many in favour of it.

554 We may expect the beliefs and customs surrounding child-birth to reflect the value
884 of reproduction. For instance, the Yao distinguish clearly between women who have
[182] borne children and those who have not. When a girl becomes pregnant for the
[842] first time she undergoes a special ceremony (*litiño*) attended only by women who
[843] have borne children. This ceremony has many of the features of a *rite de passage* and appears to mark the passing of the woman to a new social status. Furthermore, women are ascribed status according to the number of children they have borne. The word *awuali* signifies a young woman who has not yet borne a child; *awuali*

[1] Between a third and a half of the marriages contracted by women had been dissolved by divorce by the time that the child-bearing period had ended.

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554 584

ndembo, a woman who is pregnant for the first time;[1] ***kacembere***, a woman who has one or two children; ***mjembere***, a woman who has three or four children, and lastly, ***akolwe***, a woman who is past child-bearing age.

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The information which I have been able to collect on abortifacients and contraceptives suggests that they are not used by married people merely to prevent their having more children, but that they are used by people who wish to avoid pregnancies which would be embarrassing, for example, by a woman whose husband is a labour migrant. To what extent the abortifacients and contraceptives are efficacious I cannot say; some, I know for certain, rely on a magical principle, for example, the medicated cord worn by a man during intercourse. On the other hand, the abortifacients taken orally may have some active ingredient.

A barren woman or an impotent man is regarded with some embarrassment and the marriage sureties (***acisamangoswe***) of a childless couple will go to considerable trouble and expense consulting diviners and leeches in an attempt to make their wards productive. Childless couples are regarded as not fully adult and are treated in a patronizing way by those who have borne children. Since a man may marry other wives, barrenness in a woman is a cause of sorrow to her husband, but is not in itself a ground for divorce. Where the man is impotent, however, the woman may divorce him on this ground, though she usually takes a paramour and forces her husband to an action for damages which automatically leads to a divorce because it is the usual practice in these cases for the court to ask the woman if she wants to be divorced from her husband.

[885] [554] [586] [837] [694]

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In contrast to the satisfaction shown at the birth of a child is the sense of awe evinced when a child is still-born or the woman miscarries. The Yao do not distinguish between still-births and abortions, both events being known by the word ***kwasanga***. This is a verb and refers to the process of abortion; there is no term for the dead foetus itself. I made no attempt to enumerate miscarriages and still-births because they are supposed to be due to breaches of sexual taboos on the part of the husband and wife, and interviewees were naturally reluctant to mention them. Miscarriages and still-births are greatly feared, and the woman is considered to be in a very dangerous condition until she and her husband have carried out a ritual purification. Should a man have intercourse with a woman who has miscarried and not yet been purified he will contract a disease called ***kwaso*** which is believed to be invariably fatal. Still-born children or aborted foetuses are buried in a hole dug with sharpened sticks in the bush by the women, whereas children who are born alive and die afterwards are buried in the graveyard in graves dug by men with hoes. The burial spots of still-born babies or aborted foetuses are marked with a stone or broken pottery, since it is believed that to step on them will induce an illness.

[783] [753] [766]

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The concern of the interested kin-groups is shown in the child-birth procedure. Birth normally takes place in a hut in the presence of the older female relatives of the woman and the female representatives of the man. The husband's representatives are necessary because the Yao, like many other Central African peoples, believe that an adulterine child will not be born to the woman unless she confesses (***kupaca***) the name of the genitor. If she persists in concealing the identity of the genitor, they

[1] ***ndembo*** = elephant, hence ivory. The terms ***litilo*** and ***ndembo*** here both refer to the ivory beads traditionally worn by the woman in the pregnancy initiation ceremony.

[192] [361]

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844 believe that she will die. The man's representatives are therefore able to establish the child's paternity from the birth-pang confessions of the woman.

846 The child is kept in the hut where it was born, for six or seven days, while the [553] umbilical cord dries and falls off. During this time (*kuli*) the child is unnamed, and it is named only when it is taken out of the hut. Should it die during this period of seclusion it remains unnamed and is referred to by a special term (*litoya*, pl. *matoya*). [128] I have therefore been able to enumerate live births by means of the distinction made between miscarriages and still-births (*kwatanga*) and children who lived long enough to be referred to as *matoya*. After the birth of the child the woman may not have 846 intercourse for four or five months. To do so would be to endanger the life of the [854] child with a disease called *ndaka*,[1] which is contracted by a sexually inactive person 834 when he comes into contact with a sexually active person. The husband may have intercourse with a second wife, but must take care to medicate himself so that he does not endanger the life of his child. When the child is about 4 or 5 months of age the parents perform ritual intercourse and medicate the child against the mystical dangers of sexual activity; sexual relations are then resumed.

834 The Yao say that a second child should not be born while the first is still being [853] suckled. Since lactation continues for about two years I am uncertain whether monogynists remain continent, as they say they do, or whether *coitus interruptus* is 464 practised. It is quite usual for husbands to become labour migrants when their 842 children are still very young. I have known women to write to their husbands who are away working and tell them to return because their children have 'grown', i.e. have been weaned. Labour recruiters had difficulty in recruiting men immediately after the soldiers had been demobilized at the end of the war, because the women objected, saying that they had remained childless long enough and the men must first wait until children were born. However, actual examination of birth-dates [163] shows that children are sometimes born within a year of one another and sometimes there are quite big gaps. The two-year gap between children is probably an ideal which few attain.

3. The Estimation of Fertility

(a) *Sundbaerg's Age Divisions*

128 As a preliminary estimate of fertility, Sundbaerg's trichotomy of ages may be considered. The argument behind this division of the population into Youth, Middle Age, and Old Age is that those populations with a high proportion of youth have a greater tendency to increase. Table V shows this trichotomy for the Yao with the same material for some other populations shown for comparison. Where the gross reproduction-rate is known for the period shown in the table, this is included.

128 At any one time a certain proportion of the population is absent from the area, 162 usually at some labour centre. Hence the proportions of the population are distributed abnormally. In all there appeared to be a total of sixty-three men, women, and children absent from the hamlets, who would otherwise have been living there. Hence in Table V these have been included in the totals in the 'Yao with absentees' proportions.

[191] [1] A disease of this sort is believed in by many Central African tribes. Among the Nyanja-speaking peoples it is known as *tumpha*.

11: Sanderson D-5 (ca. 1920) 1920 FT7 Yao FT7

The alternative term, *wese*, common to nearly all Bantu languages, is usually reserved for "own father," but not always. 601

Latterly, though the relationship is really *akweyo*, the husbands of a man's "daughters" or "grand-daughters" are called *atati*—in a complimentary sense, not of course in defining relationship.

The word *akweyo* is rapidly falling into desuetude for men, and is, nowadays, never used in speaking to a man of that relationship, though used freely as a mode of address to women.

Amao (or *achikulu-wangu*, *-wao*, etc., "my, his mother") may be further defined as "great" or "little" in the same manner as *atati*.

The parents of any *atati* or *amao*, and those of one's wife are called *ambuje* ("grandparent"). Great-grandparents are specified as "father" or "mother of my grandfather (or mother)."

The founder of a family is called *Likolo*, especially in prayer—except for the augmentative prefix obviously the same word as *Nawolo*," a parent," which includes [182] all "fathers" and "mothers."

It is curious in this connection that a name for little girls in general, if one does not know their real name, is *chikolo*. All these words seem to be derived from *-kolo* ("have," "possess"), and refer, probably, either to actual or potential possession of offspring.

Achinangolo are distinguished as "male" or "female" according as they belong to the father's or mother's side—irrespective of their own sex.

Conclusions.—The Yao nomenclature of relationships, bearing as it does the 601 evidence of former group marriages, is, like other classificatory systems, gradually 198 changing in conformity with the development of the race, so that it can be used [121] to express consanguinity; Rivers has, I believe, called attention to this process.

The Yao custom—now dying out—of lending one's wife to a visitor (usually a [834] close friend) may be a remnant of ideas carried on from communal marriage, though [514] such a privilege is never given to a relative.

In the same way a man who has had no children (a great stigma) may request [837] his friend to help him—he will never ask a relative—and all of the three parties will [840] keep the secret of the true paternity of any children resulting.

In many tribes the marriage of brother and sister, or a man with his 588 sister's child, is permitted to compensate for the law by which a man's property 835 goes to the son of a stranger, but nothing of the kind is allowed among the Yaos. Indeed, they view any incestuous union with particular horror, and such must be very rare. I have heard of a case of a man committing incest with the idea that he would thereby become endued with supernatural [824] power, but all he gained was ostracism; in the old days he would have been burned.